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MOLLIE ELLIOT SEAWELL
Authoress of "The Ladies' Battle"

Courtesy of the McMillan Co.

The Reply

An Anti-Suffrage Magazine

February, 1914

EDITORIAL

IT IS amusing to listen to the oratory of leading Suffragists who are just now making an effort to remove from their party the taints of Militancy, Feminism and Socialism, which, rather than give their very logical (?) explanations of its connection with the "Threefold Menace" they "would fain decry, and dare not." That is, unless they are prepared to repudiate the teachings of the exponents of Woman Suffrage. Much stress is laid on the fact that Militancy is not needed to force the will of the Minority upon the Majority in the American campaign. How is it, then, that at the "Author's Evening" held at Cooper Union, New York, under the auspices of the Woman Suffrage Party Organization of the Twenty-fifth Assembly District, the following advice of one, Lincoln Steffens, was received with applause (?).

Mr. Steffens is reported as saying, "If the women here really want the franchise and are ready to work for it they should not hesitate as to methods. Let them destroy buildings, let them destroy anything they want to destroy. Women should learn to understand other groups, fight-

ing for what they want too. They should understand labor. Labor may have to kill someone to get what it wants, and the women must try to understand. Forms of force are all wrong, but all are necessary." Then too, we do not forget the earlier threat of Dr. Anna Shaw: "If we are played with, made fun of, just tolerated, greeted with supercilious smiles by members of Congressional committees, THERE IS NOTHING FOR US TO DO BUT TO RESORT TO MILITANT METHODS." The former—a mere man—may not grasp the "true inwardness" of the Woman Suffrage movement, but who can deny that full understanding to the President of the National American Woman Suffrage Association? It must be, then, with the purpose of drawing the attention of the public from the above utterances that a Suffrage journal makes the remarkable statement that, while, "In America, the Suffrage movement has always been peaceful, the Anti-Suffrage movement has often been marked by violence," and continues by citing several instances in which they claim to have been

attacked by "Antis" that "No Anti-Suffrage club has ever passed a resolution, condemning." It is safe to say that were these accusations true all Anti-Suffrage organizations would be a unit in condemning them, but the absurdity of such unfounded statements is self-evident. In discussing Feminism, one Suffrage leader writes of that very real menace as a "word of vague and various meaning" and yet we have in the Atlantic Monthly for December the testimony of Mr. George, one of the foremost Feminists, to its very definite meaning and his statement that it includes the Woman Suffrage movement. In fact the tendency of the latter movement, as shown by its own writers, is towards freedom from all self-control—that most conspicuous virtue of our forefathers, and the one of all others to which we owe our existence as a nation. That "Suffrage means Socialism" is the hardest truth to contradict, and the wonder is that any Suffragist wastes time in so futile an effort. Hardly a Suffrage organ exists that does not exploit Socialism or recommend Socialist books and magazines, and rarely is a meeting held by the Suffragists at which one, at least, of the speakers is not an avowed Socialist. Is the public blind to the fact, so often reiterated by these women that **any party** that will vote to grant them their ambition, will secure their allegiance—for the time being? Do the politicians, who are lending their ears to the demand of these women (but 8% of the women of America) realize that they are adding to the electorate a very uncertain and dangerous vote? Hard to handle, not because, as is claimed, of woman's political purity, but because of its very fickleness, and dangerous, because of its already commercialized spirit. Then,

again, how passing strange, that this same small body of politicians does not reflect upon the even greater difficulty of "handling the 92% of the proposed new voters, who are looked upon by the Suffragists as on a footing with "criminals and idiots," because they are either indifferent to the Woman Suffrage agitation (occupied as they are with their business, as well as their natural activities) or those who are organized to oppose what they realize to be a menace to our country. The latter present an unusual phenomenon—a body of citizens refusing to have their privileges curtailed by the ballot. In all fairness, we ask our politicians to pause and give thought to the spirit of the women opposing Suffrage. Should this responsibility and the consequent withdrawal of these present privileges, be thrust upon them, what might be the attitude of 92% of the women of this country toward those who placed them in the position to express their wishes at the polls? The movement opposed to Woman Suffrage is developing its strong leaders all over this country and women of this calibre—Think.

"**I**F YOU don't want to vote when you get the right don't do it, but let your sisters, if they want to, become full-fledged citizens." This argument, which, even yet, one hears from Woman Suffragists seems so hopelessly childish as to require no notice. There is, however, a point one can bring to the notice of the present voter, which shows the possible result of this deep reasoning in favor of granting the franchise to the type that indulges in such argument. The voter who neglects his duty, in the manner above proposed, is already a danger to the State, yet here we find a body

of "proposed voters"—whose claim to that right (?) is that they will benefit the State—planning to increase its danger. As a general rule it is the voter who by reason of his greater educational advantages, should do this duty required by the State, yet neglects it. We are now advised, by the Suffragists to double, no—if the indifferent and opposing forces followed their advice in a body—to place 92% of the American women in this "shirking class."

There is still a class in our cities who will not, any more than their mankind, neglect the vote. What folly it is to pretend that these women will not double the power of the "boss"! They will laugh at the woman who says to them, "You needn't vote, if you don't want to." Why, of course, they "want to." What are "bosses" for, but to make voters "want to?" The women of Denver have found out the value of the vote in dollars. The class that "want to," vote, and some one "pays the piper" well, and still the complaint is that the men get all the "jobs"!

MUCH has been made of the appointment of Katherine Bement Davis, as commissioner in the New York City Department of Correction, by the Suffragists who are loudly proclaiming this as a Suffrage victory. All who have followed Miss Davis' career must admire the woman who has accomplished so much, and congratulate her upon the recognition of her ability, by the Mayor, but far from this being a Suffrage victory, because Miss Davis is a Suffragist, it is distinctly a triumph for the contention of Anti-Suffragists that the vote wielded by women is not necessary to do justice to her sex. It is again worthy of mention that in Colorado, the test Suffrage

State, the complaint of the women is that they do not get appointments, while the largest Man Suffrage State is rapidly placing its women in the high places for which they are fitted.



Interesting Phenomenon

The appearance, almost simultaneously, of five books in opposition to Woman Suffrage is a sufficiently striking phenomenon, in view of the meagre bibliography, that the Anti-Suffrage cause has had to rely upon in the past. Shall we be far wrong in inferring that the coincidence is connected with the declining fortunes of the Suffrage movement? The mere suggestion will be received with derision by Suffragists. They will point to "progress" in America and on the Continent, in China, and, it may be, Peru. The careful observer, however, will not be misled by the course of events in any of these countries. It is so easy for political exigencies in a State to pave the way for Woman Suffrage that the wonder is not that a number of minor States have adopted it, but that more States have not been rushed into it. Only now is it possible to gauge to any profitable extent the workings of Woman Suffrage in practice, and as the verdict—not as passed by Suffragists, but as passed by the impartial student of contemporary history—is unfavorable to Suffragists' claims, the sober sense of any sovereign State must be against such an unnecessary political revolution. Suffragist literature has never wearied of saying what votes in the hands of women will perform. It has had its say. There is at last some opportunity of checking its claims, and these five volumes are, in part, the result.

—Anti-Suffrage Review.

Feminist Ethics

By Olive L. Reamy

ONE of the thought-awakening statements in an article entitled "The Militant Women—And Women," in the November issue of *The Century Magazine*, is this: "It (militancy) has made clear the evolution among women of a moral code of their own, set up for themselves, without regard for the wishes of men."

That would seem sufficiently startling, but the writer says further: "When a woman goes out deliberately and breaks a law as a protest against law-makers in power, she puts herself, by direct act, outside the pale of mere convention and it can never seem quite so important to her again. This is always a great personal gain for anyone."

This frank betrayal of Militant motives and convictions would seem to have for its aim the placing of the participants in that enlivening movement in the foremost rank of the ethical leaders of the world. The evolution of a new moral code has always marked an epoch in history.

Fortunately, for the balance of the world, the great personal gain to be derived from riotous protest against law-makers in power is not held as a womanly prerogative; it is for "anyone;" therefore the man who goes out and kills a few people as a protest against the law, *Thou Shall Not Kill*, which he did not make and which would curb the expression of one of his strong desires, must achieve thereby, under the newly promulgated

moral code, "a great personal gain." The man who breaks a plate-glass window and departs hastily with some of the glittering baubles it was meant to protect is only protesting forcibly against a law he had no share in framing, and which would deprive him of the assumed right to gratify his wishes without regard to the wishes of other men,—but his "personal gain" may fail to satisfy the man who thinks he has been robbed.

This same code makes a virtue of "the rising revolt among women against the unspeakable dullness of unvaried home life;" then why not urge, as a virtue, a revolt among men against the unceasing grind of daily work, with never a pink tea, a thimble-party, a matinee, or an afternoon nap to break the wearying monotony?

"The English Militants are proving that women, like men, will fight for what they want. This development of more fighting blood augurs well for the world's future."

... "those of us who have watched the movement do not doubt that blood will flow, if the English government does not yield in time." Setting aside the vaunted "universal peace" clause in the Suffrage platform, are not the women playing with a two-edged sword? When the time shall come that men **FIGHT LIKE WOMEN** for what they want, "the world's future" will be swiftly disengaged of the strife-producing elements of the human race, and the struggle of the Kilkenny cats will serve as the prototype

for the sex war which has been, thus far, strangely one-sided, owing, no doubt, to the fact that, up to a certain point, men are the slaves and women the tyrants. If the point is reached where men decide that patience has ceased to be a virtue, there will be an uprising worth while and the prophesied blood-pricks of the Militants may be washed out by homeopathic manly measures that will truly "augur well for the world's future."

That "the world has been made by men for themselves" is an assertion which shows the woman's moral code to be lax on the side of truth as well as on that of peace. Many fairly intelligent-thinking people fancy they see signs of the world's having been made by a Power whose designs have not been entirely divulged, but which point to dual benefits and dual duties as elements of the sex scheme. Some would go further and find even in the much-maligned man-made laws very strong evidence of regard for women and homes.

Does the new moral code which distinctly avows disregard for the wishes of half the human family, which awards the premium of virtue to lawlessness, violence, and the elevation of the caprice of the individual above the best interests of the home, and which is supported by no ethical argument; does this moral code seem a fitting substitute, or even a fitting mate, for the laws of God and man, which have grown with the advance in experience and knowledge that have lifted mankind from savagery to our present height of civilization?"



Blundering, as Usual

When the Suffragettes at Albany declared that they would nominate Mrs. Harriet Stanton Blatch for Governor, and that lady responded that she would accept the nomination, they all furnished another proof of their pitiful ignorance of the Republic that they aspire to govern. Even if it were customary to elect women to office here, Mrs. Blatch could by no possibility hold any public office anywhere in the United States, for the simple reason that she is not an American citizen. When she married an Englishman she became, like him, a subject of the British crown. She and her husband are the subjects, the servants, even the property, of King George. It is difficult to understand why she is meddling at all with affairs in our country. If she is ambitious to do some reforming, her proper place is among the Militant Suffragettes in her own country. Let her go there and light her torch.

When will our friends the Suffragettes learn that enthusiasm, however rabid and rampant, is not a sufficient substitute for correct information, and plenty of it?



Independence

A favorite war-cry of the Suffragists is the demand for independence for women. Why, bless your simple souls, that is an absolute impossibility—like some of the other misty dreams that float around your saffron banner. There never were but two independent persons in all the world. One was Nebuchadnezzar, the other was Alexander Selkirk. Which would our suffragist friends prefer—to be turned out to grass, or to be furnished with transportation to the island of Juan Fernandez?

Phoebe W. Couzins, L. L.B.

THE death of Phoebe W. Couzins, the first woman lawyer in the United States, and the first woman to hold the office of United States marshal, occurred on December 6, in St. Louis. She was buried on December 8, and with her was lowered into the grave her most prized possession—the United States marshal's badge of silver, presented by President Cleveland to her father and, upon his death, to her. Miss Couzins, originally an ardent Suffragist, gives in the following address the reasons for her changed views toward this movement. This plea for true womanhood, which is reprinted, in part, from the Official Report of the Hearing on Woman Suffrage before the Judiciary Committee of 1909, gives the experience of a long life devoted to the systematic observation of the existing conditions, and contains prophetic utterances which have not needed many years to fulfill.

Statement of Miss Phoebe W. Couzins, L. L.B., in Opposition to Woman Suffrage, at a Hearing Before the Committee of the Judiciary on Woman Suffrage, 1909:

MR. CHAIRMAN AND GENTLEMEN OF THE COMMITTEE:—From the table-land which marks the halfway division of life's toilsome journey, looking back toward my youth, and forward to the sunset, whose shadows are already athwart my pathway, I am here to bear witness to the wide sweep of vision which this length of years invites. In presenting my changed views on this perennial subject, I shall simply state facts as I saw them, after

zealous participation and earnest belief in its reformatory influence, extending over a quarter of a century's activity and observation.

My conversion is not of rapid transition, nor the change of heart of sudden denial. A careful study of conditions throughout a period of many years, devoted not only to public discussion but to the holding of important offices, some of them unusual, as was my position of United States marshal, giving me varied opportunities, and a clearer survey of the field than falls to the experience of most women, led me step by step to a final decision against woman's entrance into a political arena.

And first, it is impracticable and of but temporary value to the wife and mother, and of no permanent use to woman in the outside world, the chief objection being the limitations which are inherent in the nature of woman—both by reason of motherhood and the lack of incentive, which confronts women in pursuit of public careers.

In rough estimate, the Census Bureau not having exact data, over 2,000,000 children are born every year. This means that millions of mothers are practically set aside from public duties before and after the birth of the child for a period of not less than two years, and possibly more, in which she cannot be tabulated as a factor in the political world, and, if we pursue her domestic limitations still further as the maternal guide and director of the family group, she is practically of

little value as an integral part in the political count. A depletion of the masculine vote in like ratio as this would mean serious results for manhood suffrage. For, however much the stock argument may be reiterated that politics ought not to mean so much physical as mental and moral power, the latter claimed as woman's especial prerogative, the fact remains that the physical cuts the largest figure in the marching army of voters, as it does in that of the regulars with sword and gun, and whose victories depend, as Napoleon averred, "on the heaviest battalions."

The power to endure the fatigue of campaigning, the power to capture political prizes, and the power to emphasize by sheer muscular force the results of the march and the fight, are all included in the service of the ballot as surely as in the carriage of the bullet, and if battalions of masculine voters were continuously incapacitated as are the mothers, the inevitable fiat of nature's limitations would disband them, possibly, at the supreme moment when they were most needed.

Still further, I witnessed the tragic struggle in one of the States on the temperance question. Not only were women called from their homes in continuous service of one kind or another, but they were marched through the streets at midday with banners and singing, and at midnight to theatres and churches for prayer and exhortation, furnishing luncheons at the polls and at the final round-up of an exhaustive but limited campaign. The tabulated physical and nervous wrecks which marked that strenuous effort was well calculated to call for a Red Cross division wholly devoted to the care of the feminine injured, whose wounds

could not be differentiated by surgeon or nurse as "gunshot" or "bayonet," but whose results were quite as effective in the carriage of the disabled from the field for indefinite periods as though hit by a rifle bullet.

The latest addition to the disabled is the multi-millionairess patron, who has generously financed the Suffrage cause for a series of months, but who is now reported to have collapsed and retired to her Long Island home with expectation of a trip to Europe to restore the shattered nerves. What will happen when she and her allies encounter the Tammany tiger or the Tipperary Irish woman from across the sea, celebrated for her skill in aiming cobblestones, which she carried in her apron, at the terrified British soldier. Mistress Bridget, when irate with the spirit of injustice or opposition, usually clears the deck.

We have, in St. Louis, an Irish settlement called the "Kerry patch" district, long noted for the capacity of its female contingent to speedily rout the police and the dog catchers. In the memorable strike of 1877, the State militia encamped in that city ventured but one march through Mistress Bridget's stronghold, a presumptuous tour on its day of departure. The disappearance of the dapper warriors, "soldiers in peace and citizens in war," though not so accelerated an exit, yet fully as effective, though less of shedding of blood, as was the "coup d'état" of Judith of biblical fame, who routed the entire Assyrian army with one fell blow of her little hatchet, so that each and every man durst not look at his neighbor, but all ran away, not daring to glance backward at Judith rampant on the battlements of her castle, with the

long gory locks and decapitated head of their hitherto invincible general, Holofernes, hanging from the outer walls, while Judith, triumphant aloft, challenged the fleeing braves to "Come on!" And Kerry patch sustains, with Judith, the long time accuracy of aim, and on this memorable Marathon sprint of that militia tour, amidst a shower of bricks and water, an officer was struck squarely in the back with a huge brick, and was "hors de combat," with the fear that arterial fluid was rushing down his spinal column, filling his shoes with blood.

From out the palace walls we may yet hear the plaint of the would be voter, returning from the hustings:

Shall I be carried to political skies
On flowery beds of ease,
While others fight to win the prize
Or sail through bloody seas?

The query naturally arises, "If woman in a contest which flatters her vanity, in the belief that she comes to regenerate the political world, fortified by appeals to her emotional nature, upheld by a supposedly moral attitude, sustained by the enthusiasm of religious propaganda, falls by the way ere yet the victory is fully accomplished, what would be the result if she were thrown into the maelstrom of a six-months' struggle in the political vortex, where selfish interests alone prevail, where hunger for the loaves and the fishes and thirst for official honors and power make of men in political warfare ravenous wolves for the nonce, who fight for the bones with the ferocity of the jackal, and whose conscienceless steam roller of the boss grinds the earnest opponent to a mass of pulpy non-resistence, or the threatening bull whip of the ward heeler's lash finally coerces the rank and

file of the timid voter into a spineless herd of meekly driven followers?" What show could woman have in an attempt at the moral beatitudes in this cruel, merciless warfare?

Moreover, the caucus, primary, and nominating conventions are the points where center the motive power of the voting privilege—the casting of the ballot is but a secondary consideration, and I know of no States wherein woman already enfranchised has exercised a decided influence on these centers of gravitation, from whence emerge the cohesive power of political plunder, the distribution of the loaves and the fishes, the selection of candidates, and the juggernaut of the victorious legions. She votes the ticket as prepared, or refrains from its endorsement, but takes no active part in its assignment. She could not, if she would. To those of us who for twenty-five years or more heroically sacrificed ourselves on the altar of liberty for woman in national conventions humbly presenting resolutions with cartloads of petitions attached, who have waited in patient endurance at the doorways of committee rooms, to be heard, who have witnessed, in affright, the initial battles, almost to bloodshed, which marked the primary and delegate assemblies, do not hesitate, after honest observation and candid review, to pronounce the introduction of woman into the political arena as untenable and productive of injury rather than benefit to all concerned.

Still further, she has no staying qualities, continuity of purpose, or affinity for the rough and tumble warfare in political life. She cannot contend with the masculine half in the wide field of operations necessary to swing the ballot to success-

ful conclusion, wherein physical, mental, and nervous energies are subjected to the severest test, and which put woman out of the running by the statute of limitations ordained by mother nature. This is clearly shown in the States where whole or partial Suffrage has been conceded. The women gradually drop out after the novelty of the first ballot has passed and exhibit a marked indifference, even in those subjects which would seem to appeal to her especial protection.

In the last election (November) in Seattle, where 43,000 women are entitled to vote on school questions, but 468 registered, and among the delinquents were speakers who had been exported to the East in a recent campaign to paint in graphic language the resultant evils of women not voting.

In Boston there were over a thousand less women registered for municipal questions last autumn than ever before.

Wyoming, in 1870, when a Territory, through a Democratic legislature, enfranchised woman; but forty years of the coveted ballot has failed to discover any appreciable improvement in its politics, and not an instance of initiative reform on masculine legislative methods or an exhibit of constructive genius in law-making that points her as superior to her mate.

Governor Waite and a Populist legislature of Colorado, in 1893, enfranchised woman without aid or effort on her part, but sixteen years of the vaunted prize have disclosed no advance in manners or morals in the body politic; but, on the contrary, her first vote in 1894, wherein she displayed the basest ingratitude toward the governor and an utter disregard or ignorance of the moral side of the issues involved, threw the State into

a disorganized condition, from which it has never recovered and which I shall review further on.

In the Literary Digest of April 20, 1908, appears an article on the failure of Woman Suffrage in New Zealand after twelve years of trial. I ask leave to print with my notes the conclusion of the editor's review of a careful and exhaustive report of its trial from that country. The conclusion is this:

Women in New Zealand have indeed shown themselves utterly indifferent in moving for the very things the franchise should have been made instrumental in obtaining. Women have not used their votes in this way. To quote further:

"So far they have not taken up questions of vital importance to their sex, to bring about any improvement, more than do women in England. They have not brought about a wise educational system for girls, although the State school system of the present day disregards the sex of its pupils and trains them as inferior commercial machines; they have not righted the divorce laws; they have not legislated for the assistance and protection of helpless and poverty-stricken mothers of young children; they have not agitated for the care of the youthful inhabitants of the gutter; they have not used their power to bring in some simple true form of religious instruction in schools; they have not solved the comparatively simple question of the domestic servant—simple if it were made an honorable profession, for which State training is necessary. They have made no material difference in the welfare of their sex.

"The power to do this lies in the hands of enfranchised women; yet are they 'idle, openly idle, in the lea of the forespent line.' "

Again, the incentive to public career and satisfaction in work accomplished in the outside world, where attrition and effort in competition with his fellows spur the masculine forward to success and final achievement, is not found in the feminine make-up, save in exceptional cases.

Man by nature is endowed with a preponderance of appetites and passions. This must be so because of the tremendous struggle which he is compelled to make to gain a foothold.

This one great incentive is the desire for a companion, a home where his children may be reared, and around whose hearthstone may center all that man desires for the advancement and civilization of himself and society.

"God be thanked," writes an illustrious poet, "man boasts two soul sides—one to face the world with; one to show a woman when he loves her."

But the woman has none of this in the outside world. She may fill, as she does, acceptably, public office, and it is well that she can do this when the wolf is at the door, and food, shelter and clothing are demanding the struggle; but after all that may be said it is merely a makeshift, for there is no growth or development behind the effort; there is to be no reward which appeals to the heart and the ambition and energized effort. Woman does not work all day that she may go home to a blessed fireside, cheered and ennobled by the presence of a man whom she supports, where no sweet children greet her and no hope or ambition is realized. The heart is out of her and the spirit lags. And, look at it as we may, these are the great impelling forces that send the human race along the road to development or stagnate its forces into baleful disaster.

That woman looks upon her work as but a temporary expedient, and not a life-long effort, is continuously illustrated in the swiftness and alacrity wherein she deserts the ranks and disappears in the domestic circle whenever the sailboat of

a man is sighted on the tempestuous sea of life's billowy ocean, and the guide at the tiller invites her to a seat by his side

The latest deserter, who was heralded with fanfare of trumpets, shawms, and surfeit of applause as a civil engineer of no mean proportions, was the granddaughter of Elizabeth Cady Stanton, who fell early in the fray to "the youth with flaunting feathers"—"a stranger piping through the village beckoned to the fairest maiden and she followed where he leads her," leaving the nonquitters for the stranger.

And thus it is ever, "as unto the bow the chord is, so unto the man is woman," and by this attraction of natural selection which permeates the whole universe in duality of magnetic forces, the ties of common kindred in the human are perfected in the relation of wife, mother, daughter, sister, which forbids a separation of interests in the sexes, and makes a voting phalanx of woman reformers outside of the inter-related domestic association an impossibility. For women are not a distinctively independent class apart from men—and it should be remembered with justice to the male sex that all legislative, educational, and industrial progress thus far, in amelioration of woman's inheritance from the dark ages, has been carried forward by the masculine voter. He has opened the doors of universities and colleges, admitted her to the professions, advanced her privileges and pay in newly-acquired departments of industry, and in the reforms, which she earnestly demands, he emphasizes her wishes by affirmative recognition, as witness the great temperance wave now sweeping over the land wherein the masculine ballot has decisively voted for woman.

In the summing up of the march of civilization man has demonstrated that he is not only a sharer with woman in moral responsibilities at home and abroad, but as a composite unit in legislation is not a weakling citizen or a vicious compound. The preaching so continuously indulged in by the moral reformer, of unerring goodness in the feminine, while the masculine is unfailingly picketed as concentrated badness, cannot but result in antagonisms productive of serious injury to the spiritual and mental development of the race.

The virtues do not descend in a straight line to Mother Eve or the vices inhere in unbroken lengths to Father Adam. Nature is an unerring accountant. She gives to the daughter the characteristics of the father and to the son the attributes of the mother, while in final adjustment of the balance she crossbreeds the good and the evil, in like measure to both, while always preserving the types.

A speaker before the National League of Civic Education of Woman, in recent session in New York, stated that "Equal Suffrage results in the four States where it exists indicate the ability of the corrupt political machine to influence the female vote rather than any ability on the part of woman to purify politics."

Of my own observation, I can bear conclusive testimony as to its truth, in one at least. I was an eyewitness of woman's first vote in Colorado in 1894, arriving in June, and remaining until after November. Through five months of hard experience, I traveled over the highways and byways, taking railway, stagecoach, private conveyance, and through little burro pathways in search of the truth.

A corrupt political machine was insti-

tuted by predatory wealth; both native and foreign, whose aim was the overthrow of Governor Waite, the miners' friend, and protector of the mineral lands of the people. Two of the most conscienceless politicians in the nation were placed in charge, who called to their aid, to corral the woman's vote, a noted Prohibition leader, reputed next to Frances Willard in power and pathos of debate and speech. Seldom has there been such an open exhibition of graft and unlimited use of money.

Hundreds of thousands of dollars were expended in flattery of woman on her weak points of social prestige and love of display, while the wives of the laboring classes were cajoled in clubs organized of extravagant outlay, into the belief that the patronage of the smelter owners' wives compensated for the vote which meant continual yoke for the husband, or, if rebellion was shown, out of a job for the man and out in the streets for her family.

The Brown Palace Hotel in Denver, a huge hostelry with immense rotunda, was draped in flags, flowers, and bunting from floor to dome, and here receptions were held, chaperoned by the feminine millionaire and the recreant Prohibition leader, with all the accessories of music, refreshments, and sumptuous outlay, which compose the sum total of society's glittering equipment, and hither the susceptible woman was rushed to the sacrificial altar, laying the flattering unction to her soul that she was on the top round of the social ladder. It was estimated that sufficient money was wasted in these outlays to have provided the poor of the city with food, shelter, and clothing for one whole year. The Broadway Theatre, another of

the luxurious and expensive buildings, was rented for the entire campaign and as extravagantly decorated for club processions and speeches. Here the wives of the laboring men were marched to the front, gorgeous with sashes, golden-fringed badges, and silken banners, while in the boxes sat the wealthy patrons, unctuous of manner, bewildering in jewels and laces, while over all the music and the speeches led the subjugated voter away from the issues at stake and bound her to the chariot wheel of the oppressor. A like debasement of the ballot was perpetrated all through the hills and valleys of the State which entered the Union as the centennial star which marked the one hundredth anniversary of the birth of liberty.

At the close of the campaign Governor Waite, a clean, high-minded, honest, and incorruptible statesman who, with the eye of Lincoln, saw the needs of the hapless and lowly, who had closed the gambling dens and houses of disrepute, compelled the saloons to obey, the law, enfranchised woman, and was steadily throwing the aegis of protection in legislative enactment around both miner and mineral lands and saving them from the grasp of the invader, was ignominiously routed, while there came to the executive chair a man the exact antithesis of the retiring governor, from whom his wife sought separation closely following the inaugural because of dissolute habits. Within forty-eight hours after the defeat every gambling house and quarter of the red-light section was thrown wide open, renovated, and refurnished after the manner graphically described in Scripture, wherein an added seven devils entered and took possession.

Marked emphasis was given during the

campaign of the revelation in the Mexican quarters, of one man with his wife and four daughters, who had offered \$2 per head to one party, \$4 to another, and \$6 to still another. But wherein did this individual graft differ from the corrupt political machine, whose object was the Monte Cristo wealth hidden in the subterranean treasures of the mountains?

A late review of woman's vote in that State, exultingly points to a juvenile court as the result of her ballot; but, inasmuch as there are 19 other States wherein she does not vote, where man has instituted a like protection, the force of the purity influence is lost.

Furthermore, at the time that woman was enfranchised there was perpetrated in congressional legislation the most cruel and oppressive act, dictated by a monarchy, which destroyed one of the money metals of our Constitution, and in its resultant effects paralyzed the arms of one of the vast industries in her State, the closing of the silver mines, wherein tens of thousands of Colorado's industrious citizens were thrown out in the highways and byways as tramps and hoboes, to fill drunkards' and suicides' graves, insane asylums, and criminal cells, their wives and daughters to starve or beg or walk the streets as prostitutes and harlots.

Out of such conditions come the vagrant children for whom juvenile courts are instituted, and it is but sorry evidence of woman's purifying presence in politics, when she fails to grasp the cause, and applies only poultices to the effect—while yet source is undefined, and its mischievous power unapprehended . . .

Furthermore, woman cannot encompass the machinery which moves the world, wherein politics largely governs the puls-

ating arteries of trade, commerce, and finance. She cannot direct the lesser attempts.

For the first time in the history of this Republic, Congress recognized woman in two of the great undertakings of the age, the Columbian Exposition at Chicago and the Louisiana Purchase at St. Louis, giving her not only a dignified place in assignment, but voting prodigal sums to be under her absolute disbursement.

So rich a field for exploitation by mousing grafters was instantly recognized. Within three months after the organization the board of lady managers, a representative national body composed of two members, Democratic and Republican, from each State and Territory, and two at large, was dismembered as an entity, the lawful secretary violently dispossessed of office, the order of the Secretary of the Treasury for the authentication of bills illegally set aside, and that which promised the golden opportunity for woman to test her metal, by tracing the four hundred years of advance and development of her sex, in a land freed from monarchial evils beneath the aegis of the Star Spangled Banner, was lost in an unseemly scramble for the loaves and fishes and grasp of petty honors so dear to mediocrity in temporary recognition of place and power.

The noble, broad-minded members, and there were many, whose collegiate education and training, liberal endowment of brain and breadth of vision as to the scope of the work involved, whose genius and versatility of gifts would have done justice to this wide field, and whose conclusions would have honored the nation by giving to the world the report of the woman's board, as demanded by Congress

at the close, were not able to stem the tide, and went down in the grouping of a mediocre exhibit, after the manner of the average State fair, and woman's record of four hundred years was lost to posterity in humiliating defeat of a corrupt and conscienceless combination.

Congress never received justification of its belief in woman's possibilities, as no report was made to the National Legislature, as required by law, no memorial, notwithstanding the generous appropriations, marks a single progressive step of woman's quadrennial march toward the higher civilization, and no record punctuates the existence of so notable an opportunity, save a tangled mass of confused financial expenditures, in the vaults of the United States Treasury, whose skilled accountants have failed thus far to classify or unravel.

The Louisiana Purchase board, while not so wide in scope or so broad in its ensemble, gave a like illustration of woman's incapacity to skillfully direct monumental undertakings.

With the archives of that vast territory from Louisiana to Oregon, teeming with the heroism of pioneer women, dauntless in courage, brave in the midst of overwhelming disaster, yet preserving sweetness of spirit, tenderness of heart, and nobility of soul amidst the cruel experiences of the wilderness and the plain, not a tribute reaches us from the official roster of this board; while the remarkable feats of a young Indian woman who led the Lewis and Clarke expedition through impenetrable forests, over mountain fastnesses, across dangerous rivers, and the ford of raging torrents to final safety and conclusion on the far away Pacific coast was not even recorded in historical min-

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utes. But more than this, a fitting statue, heroic in proportions, as was this dusky Joan of Arc, in leadership of dangers in the unexplored wilderness of the western New World, can nowhere be found in the denuded reservations of Forest Park, sacred to the mythological Cyclops and Apollos, and preservative in marble and bronze, of the modern hero in tailor-made garments, whose attire precludes the thought of encounter with beasts formidable in dimensions or birds of prey, disastrous to aught save collar and coat tail.

Congressional recognition ended with the Louisiana Purchase, since women not only proved a failure again, but attempted a spirit of caste in this Jeffersonian jubilee, which roped off the woman's building to the exclusive use of the board and limited its open door to pink teas and swell social functions for the "nouveaux riche" and swagger set, which was only cut short by the peremptory challenge of a spirited Congressman from Minnesota, who ordered ropes down, the building consecrated to the spirit of national "camaraderie" for rich and poor alike, and directed the service of the teapot to be extended to the humble washerwoman if she passed that way, or the cup of fragrant oolong handed out to the patient toiler from the ranks, with a like deference as was shown to the silken-robed member of the "dilettante."

Again, the official organizations directing this woman question represented in the national suffrage and temperance bodies have given no evidence thus far of improvement on masculine methods; rather have they discounted the tenure-of-office feature by making it perpetual.

The shibboleth of "Equal rights to all

and special privileges to none" is certainly not exemplified in the governments of those organizations. "Life tenure of a good thing when you see it" seems to be the motto for both.

A clique, called the "nominating committee," rules the annual gatherings, which year by year brings in the same official list, and any attempt to disrupt this organized tyranny is met with instant rebuke.

At a recent gathering of the Woman's Christian Temperance Union in Los Angeles, Cal., three States timidly ventured to offer protest, and were at once choked off by the vehement war cry of the vice-president at large, who has nibbled the rich grazing in pastures fair and at the public contribution crib, in one capacity or another, for a period of thirty-seven years.

Its first president held office over twenty-six years, until her death, at a salary of \$5,000 per annum; private secretary, \$1,500; and all the plums, perquisites, transportation by sea and land over both continents, which so commanding a position implies.

Her successor, in nowise her equal, is now on the eleventh lap of the running, with like patronage and power, and if rotation in office is to be an educational process for the less favored majority, it is certainly getting no schooling through this close corporation board.

The suffrage association is a like limited combine, which perennially appears with the same roster of officials, who exhibit no waning thirst for the honor and emoluments of public office.

We have just passed through an exciting national campaign wherein a third term for the Presidency was again

thrashed over, and again decisively repudiated.

What message would these two self-perpetuating bodies bring to the American people if the power vested in them to nominate and elect a feminine occupant of the White House? Should we have a life-tenure President, whom only death could part from the executive chair, or a liberal exponent of George Washington's message of warning to those of his day and the generation that were to follow—that two terms in official life were the limit for both honors and safety, to occupant and Republic alike?

And finally, gentlemen, I refer you to the decision of the United States Supreme Court (21 Wall., p. 162), of date October, 1874, which settles the status of the resolution before you, makes nugatory and void the efforts of the suffrage leaders, and consigns to waste-basket and oblivion the hard labor on petitions of innumerable followers in the rank and file of their numbers.

In 1874 Miss Virginia Minor, president of the Missouri Woman's Suffrage Association, brought suit against the registrar of voters in St. Louis for denial of her right to be recorded as a legal voter. The case was carried to the United States Supreme court, whose summing up, after long review, was "that there are no voters in the United States of its own creation; its officers are elected directly or indirectly by State voters," and remanded Mrs. Minor to Missouri for the elucidation of her voting right or privilege.

The conclusion of the whole matter is not the entrance of woman into the

political world for the reformation of man's methods, but the regeneration of woman herself that those she sends forth into the maelstrom of life's great battle shall be so equipped mentally, morally, physically as to require no added force from her to hold mankind to paths of righteousness and peace.

The mythology of the past is the moving-picture gallery of immortal truths, and none more pregnant of its vital apprehension of that source which nourishes into life the human race than its wonderful portrayal of the feminine. Woman, as pictured by the ancients, is the mysterious and incomprehensible temple within whose sacred laboratory is fashioned and wrought that most wondrous creation of all nature, the human soul and body, which they affirmed came forth a winged soul or a distorted creation, even as she was allied to the gods or yoked to the furies.

Ralph Waldo Emerson, of our day, repeating the self-same truth, says: "When a man comes forth into life from the temple of his mother, the gate of gifts closes behind him."

Jean Paul Richter, reiterating a like spiritual insight, affirms: "The clue of our identity, wander where we will, lies at the foot of the cradle."

The wife of Euripides, when congratulated by a foreigner on the wisdom of her country's laws and its prestige in all that made for advancement, said with great dignity and emphasis: "We women of Greece give birth to men, not pygmies." Therein lies the solution of Woman Suffrage.

A Game for Two

Among the latest announcements of the Suffrage leaders is a plan to hound every candidate for Congress to make him tell whether he will vote for the Suffrage amendment to the Federal Constitution; and, if he will not promise to do so, to "work for his defeat." It need not be asked what kind of "work" they do in such cases. We all know. But has it never occurred to them that two can play at that game? Suppose them to be endeavoring to defeat a certain candidate, and suppose that a considerable number of the men on whose votes he must depend give him to understand that if he contemplates voting in Congress to advocate his and their manhood, he cannot have their support. Does anybody doubt what his course would be then? The men all over the country are waking up to the real character of the Suffrage movement. They see that it menaces the stability of the government and the whole structure of society.

That proposal to put Suffrage into the Federal Constitution is the most gigantic and bare-faced piece of dishonesty that the Suffragists have devised. An amendment to the Constitution is adopted and becomes operative if three-fourths of the States vote for it—each State having one vote. Nevada, with fewer than a hundred thousand inhabitants has the same voice on that question as New York with her nine millions—more than a hundred to one. There is no honest excuse for such an amendment; because any State that wishes for Woman Suffrage can have it, without any change in the Federal Constitution or any action of Congress. Suppose such an amendment to be submitted to the States. It is easy to name

twelve states that would almost certainly vote against it, whose combined population is more by several millions than the combined population of the other thirty-six. Yet the votes of the thirty-six would make that amendment a part of the Constitution, binding upon all!

It is as plain as daylight that the sole purpose of the Suffragists in urging this measure is, to FORCE WOMAN SUFFRAGE UPON THE STATES THAT DO NOT WANT IT.



Who Lowered the Standard

BY CAROLINE M. HOLMES

Who lowered the standard? Set the pace?
Who fouled the fountain? Quit the race?
Who snatched the crown off woman's brow?
Who mired her robes, and recked not how?

Where are the lovers true to vows?
Where are the sweethearts life endows?
Where has innocence hid her head?
Where have true-love and joy both fled?

Why so much crime? And all this greed?
Why empty churches, scorn of creed?
Why stalks self-love with seeking eyes,
To pose as pure, in impure guise?

What will you do to right such wrong?
What your weapon? The warfare's long.
What your defence in the bitter fight?
What will you say for God and Right?

Did you lower the standard? Set the pace?
Did you foul the fountain? Leave the race?
Did you take the crown from off your brow?
Did you know you're mired? List! God asks,
"How?"



A Voice from the Past

Mr. Lincoln Steffens, whose name has a familiar ring as of a fame that formerly blew about these hills, has bobbed up to tell the women how to get the vote. Simple enough. You take a can of dynamite in one hand, an axe in the other and go out and get it. What could be neater?

The only hesitation that any Suffragist may feel toward this advice will flow from the naive simplicity of the design. If the thing is so easy why has it not been done before?

The suspicion will grow, we fear, that Mr. Steffens—was he, perchance, of the I. W. W.?—is one of those great souls to whom everything is too utterly simple. The slow ways of the world mean nothing to such a one. Dynamite is as breakfast food and the existing order of things hardly worth a curse.

But who is this Steffens, anyway?—
N. Y. Tribune.



Mothers of Men

Like swans waddling upon the ice
The suffragettes appear,
Females shorn of womanly grace—
To man no longer dear.

Fair birds of the placid waters,
In sunshine or in shade
Around thee our hopes are centered,
By thee our homes are made.

What mean the votes, if you have them?
You rule the hearts of men
Oh! mothers of all the ages!
High priestesses of all men!

New Haven, Conn. —CLARENCE B. BOLMER.

Socialistic Views of Woman on Marriage
and the Family

MONOGAMY MUST BREAK DOWN

"They, (the Socialists) are, I say, quite aware that in such a society (as Socialism implies) the principle of rigid monogamy enforced by law and public opinion, as at present, must break down before a freer conception of human relationships, yet they are extremely chary of admitting this in so many words."—E. BELFORT BAX, in Essays in Socialism.



Women in Finland's Diet

There are twenty-one women in the Diet, or Parliament, of Finland, elected in 1913, who will hold office for three years.

It is instructive to consider some of the laws which have been passed by the Diet through the efforts of women members: Improving the legal position of members born out of wedlock; mitigating the punishment for infanticide committed by an unmarried mother at the time of the birth.



THE REPLY is an Anti-Suffragist monthly magazine published at New Canaan, Conn., Price, \$1 per year, ten cents per copy. A magazine which expresses approval of woman's evolution up to the point of voting, but not beyond; representing the Anti-Suffragist ideal as astonishingly like that of the Suffragist, eliminating the dropping of a ballot at the polls once a year.—The Women's Law Journal.

Press News and Notes

One of the most important organizations opposing Woman Suffrage which has been formed is the Wage Earners' Anti-Suffrage League, whose president is Miss Edith Alice Abell, vice-president, Miss Deices, and secretary Miss Marjorie Donnau, was formed but three months ago, and is growing by leaps and bounds into a powerful organization. Its purpose is to prove the inaccuracy of the statement of the Suffragists that all self-supporting women want the vote, and its policy is socially instructive. It was represented at the hearing on the proposed U. S. Committee in the House of Representatives, which was held before the Committee on Rules on December 8th, the president reading a five-minute paper.

The Bible speaks of Judas as one who "by transgression fell that he might 'go to his own place.'" It is inevitable that each personality, whether evil or good, must "go to its own place," and this is as true of movements as it is of individuals. Things that seem entirely unrelated come together as if they had been originally constructed as parts of one building. Adherents of the Suffrage movement have denied that Suffrage and Socialism were parts of the same structure; believers of the single-tax theory have stoutly maintained that they have nothing in common with Woman Suffrage, but time and tide move on and bear Socialist and Suffragist and Single-taxer into one compacted movement. And the point that becomes clearest is the one that relates to the family. The first laws demanded by Suf-

fragists were in favor of freer divorce, the loosening of the marriage tie, "Economic independence, and the normal wife as a parasite," mean family disintegration.

The Socialist declares boldly that "the family is the great hinderance to Socialism" as a competitor of the republic and apostle of the Co-operative Commonwealth. The latest declaration of the same trend in the single-tax movement is seen in a lecture delivered by Alice Thacher Post before the Women's Single Tax League of the District of Columbia, on December 8th, 1913. She says: "The family has been regarded, and is still very generally regarded, as the unit of the social life. Now this view of the family is really at the base of all objections to Woman Suffrage." This appears to be the time of the letting of cats out of their bags, and therefore this exposure is just in line with the notable one made by Mr. W. L. George in his book and article on Feminism. Mrs. Post says that "we need find no fault with a social development which took this as one step in its course." "But," she adds, "we are restive. We ask to take another step." And that step is to break the family group into individual units, and to change **responsibility to rights!** And this portentous change she dares to picture as the law of social life because "God knew us originally as individual units—individual human souls." It was **because** He knew us and formed us as individual units—individual human souls—that He "set us in families" whose rights are responsibilities.

The whole great revolt now in process

is a rebellion against responsibilities. Under the false name of rights and liberties the possibility of individual development is destroyed.

Mrs. Post says: "Under our initiative and referendum electoral forms we vote more and more for principles and laws and less for men." That is the kind of nonsense that belongs with the initiative and referendum. A voting for disembodied principles and laws is sure to end soon in the kind of irresponsible voting that is beginning to make a farce of our elections, and under which no men of character will be willing to serve as candidate. Witness the recent Oregon recall of its judiciary!



The Fifth-Wheelers

To any one that understands the method of conducting popular elections, the announcement that certain Suffragists were about to put themselves once more in the spot-light by hiking to Albany, to ask the Governor to order the appointment of women as watchers at the polls, was irresistibly ludicrous. At every election two or more opposing parties are represented, and every party has its watchers at the polls—to watch the other parties, of course, and see fair play. No watcher, and no officer of the election, can see the inside of any ballot before it is put into the box. By a wise provision of the law, every precaution is taken to enable the voter to cast his ballot without letting anybody know how he has marked it, so that he need have no fear of any personal consequences. When the Suffragists hound a man to make him tell them how he has voted, or how he intends

to vote, they are trying to nullify this very necessary provision of the law, and the answer should always be, "That is my business."

The thing that the watchers have to do—the only thing that they can do—is to see to it that no one votes who is not a legal voter in their district, and that no one votes more than once. Accordingly, the men selected for watchers are those who know the men of their district and can at once detect an outsider. When the boxes are opened, all the watchers (and usually others besides) steadily look over the shoulders of the election officers to detect any possible error in the count.

Can the Suffragists, if their petition is granted, undertake to supply, as watchers, women who know all the rough and shady characters in their district? If they have not this qualification, they would be useless as watchers, even if there were no men to do the watching. There could not be a better illustration of the familiar expression, "a fifth wheel to a coach." If they ever get there, they will probably acquire the popular title of Fifth-Wheelers.



Woman Suffrage Defeats in 1913

So much is heard of Woman Suffrage successes under the influence of Socialistic pressure, that we do not remember how strongly and steadily this combination has been defeated. In 1913 Woman Suffrage has met defeat in Arkansas, Connecticut, Delaware, Florida, Massachusetts, Maine, Michigan, Minnesota, Missouri, Nebraska, New Hampshire, and West Virginia.

Book Reviews and Notes

THE DESIRED WOMAN. By WILL HARBIN. Harper Brothers, \$1.00.

This book has been spoken of as belonging on a Suffrage shelf, but if ever a book was Anti-, this is. The little heroine, forced by a fun-loving company of her fellow-townsmen into a debate that it was believed would overtax her wits, in which she was to take the Suffrage side, was equal to the occasion and silenced her competitor with what, in what in any serious discussion, would be high-flown nonsense about Joan d' Arc. But that little heroine possesses a character such as few writers have equalled in portrayal, and which would make of any and all women a desired one, could it be realized. It is a rare insight that the author is gifted with in comprehending the inner nature of a good and true woman. Home and married love stand out in sweet contrast to the cruel and shallow deceptions that picture too many situations that are very true to life. The book is as far as possible from dealing with the Woman Movement but the social wrong and restlessness that accompany that movement might well suggest it. It is really another Anti-Suffrage book.

THE VOCATION OF WOMAN. By MRS. ARCHIBALD COLQUHOUN, author of "Two on their Travels," part author of "The Realm of the Hapsburgs." MacMillan & Co., London and New York. Price, \$1.50.

This volume is a full and painstaking survey of the Suffrage movement in its philosophical and scientific aspects. In a long introduction the author says: "It appears to the writer as though feminists for the last fifty years have been regarding the world, with eyes sorrowful or angry as the case may be, and saying "It is no place for women! What we must do," they seem to say, "since we cannot

to change it. Let us make woman as much like man as possible, and then she will fit into the environment as he does." To this situation she finds the following solution: She says, "What would have been the position of woman today if the revolution in woman's education, which began seriously in the third quarter of the last century, had had as its motif not the essential sameness of men and women, but their essential difference; if it had aimed not at making women take up the burdens of men, but at the cultivating in them qualities and aptitudes calculated to make them more efficiently womanly?" This valuable suggestion the author considers from many view-points, and especially from that of the surplus woman population of England. She quotes freely from Feminists and writers on sex questions. The headings of her chapters will suggest the range: "The Revolt of Women," "The Character of Women," "Marriage," "Dangers and Deterents to Monogamous Marriage," "The Economic Relationship," "Woman, Economics and the State," "The Dual Vocation," "Feminism and the Home," "Education and Marriage," "Education of the Unmarried Woman," "Modern Women and Politics," "Woman and the Empire" and "The Woman Movement—What is it?"

The chapter is a fine summing up of the positions taken throughout the volume—and of the real Woman Movement as distinct from much misunderstanding of it. It would be very valuable if a pamphlet could be made of this chapter for wide distribution. Such themes as the relation of the movement with the Church have not been elsewhere discussed. It all opens the broad work that lies before change this unfavorable environment, is to change women to fit it. It is the work of man and suits him and he is not likely to fore woman in the re-establishment of

civilization on the higher plane of a truly spiritual family and domestic life. Mrs. Colquhoun's impressive closing is a quotation from Lacordaire, who dared to say to his countrymen during the Revolution: "You have written upon the monuments of your city the words Liberty, Fraternity, Equality. Above Liberty write Duty, above Fraternity write Humility, above Equality write Service. Above the immemorial creed of your rights inscribe the divine creed of your duties."

Such an ending to such a book gives heart and hope at a time when hope and heart are sorely needed.

THE RESPONSE OF WOMAN TO HER CALL TO-DAY.
By ARTHUR W. ROBINSON. D. D. Vicar of All-hallows. Barking-by-the-Tower. London, Longmans, Green & Co.

This is the age of contradictions, and surely no greater contradiction was ever presented than is to be seen in this little volume. The good clergyman who wrote it is in ignorance of what the woman movement really is. If it were a movement to spiritualize the souls and minds of women, and if all the acts of Feminists had been in the direction of organizing women into bodies of workers and learners of spiritual tasks and teachings for their sex and, then, if as a natural result woman desired the vote in order to accomplish the forming of laws to aid in Christian and spiritual life, then this address to a conference of women would have point as purpose. At present it has none. So far as it inculcates religious life it is not only good, but it leads entirely away from the Suffrage effort, and so far as it mildly advocates the giving of the Parliamentary vote to women it upsets its own suggestions.

One is impressed by the English viewpoint in the book, and when it is said: "Do not forget that the good angel spoke not to Mary alone. He had a message for Joseph also. Perhaps you will do well to leave to the angel a good deal of the labor of convincing us men." This would probably be a pleasanter way for all non-militant women!

MIXED HERBS: A WORKING WOMAN'S REMONSTRANCE
AGAINST THE SUFFRAGE AGITATION. By M. E. S.
London, Samson Low, Marston & Co.

This is a book of great value, because written by a woman of character. The author says in a note at the end that it is the outcome of her own experience, and was directly called forth by her realization of the demoralization of the feminine character consequent upon the participation of women on the pro-Suffrage side, of controversial strife and militant behavior. The first half of the book is entitled "Mary Maitland," and is devoted to the life of a working woman with whom she came in contact. Of this portion she says: It is "an attempt to show, very soberly, how sorely women do need help, and to indicate where their hope lies. The next chapter is called, "The War of the Women." In the course of it she says: "Working women know that for so many evils, including even sweating, women are finally responsible." She cites many instances of the unfairness of women to the wage-earners of their own sex.

A spicy sentence that may suggest her style is the following: "To say that those who have not banded together to attack the woman's movement cannot therefore be against it, is as true as to say that women are not really in favor of continuing to wear their hair long, because they have not started an association to protest their wish not to cut it as men do." She says: "So one would have thought, but the revolting part of woman-kind have avowed their intention of making themselves public nuisances, even after the most vulgar fashion, until it is proved to demonstration that the great silent majority of their sex are opposed to any subversion of existing conditions."

"Here am I, a plain woman, capable of keeping out of a lunatic asylum, and even of the police courts, amply supplied with interests, not at all at a loss for diversion, why, in heaven's name should I be forced by the proceedings of window-breaking females to join an association to protest against the movement in favor of women

being allowed to cut their hair in masculine fashion? Why should I be called on to waste my few leisure moments in stuffy meetings, to subscribe my rare peace to provide funds for the dissemination of anti-hair cutting propaganda, to excite myself over unbearable controversies, to embitter whatever of my life may remain to me, just to regain the opportunity as well as the right to remain as I am? It is a crying injustice that we should have been driven to this extremity. And driven to it at last we have been."

In the foot-note the author touches a new note in the oft-quoted refrain: "No taxation without representation," when then she says: "Can the great minority of defeated voters after an election be said to be 'represented' by the member who 'represents' in Parliament the constituency to which they belong, and who there opposes every object on which their heart is set? If the suffrage is granted to women on such grounds, the grant should, in justice, be followed by a measure exacting that only the represented majority continue to pay taxes. The rush of female voters after an election to prove their claims to be in the unrepresented minority would make such a system difficult to work." Again she says that under the suffrage claim that women who contribute to State expenses should share its government, "it may be replied that it would be equally just to maintain that men who defray all the household expenses should on that ground manage all the domestic affairs. She adds that in both of these cases "Anarchy would ensue."

Again the author says: "Women can accomplish nothing of worth until they have made themselves more worthy. Their impenitent disregard of their own duties has retarded the general progress of the world."

Again, she says: "It is pathetic to see the reliance placed by Suffragette women on legislation as a means of making all things well with women." She says also—what should be carefully heeded—"Perhaps the new Anti-Suffrage move-

ment will evolve some plan for helping the women of our time to arrive at a higher conception of their relation to the State, to realize their need for greater efficiency in the performance of their great role, and for a better adjustment and regulation of women's position in the labor market." That suggests the real and constructive work of the new Woman Suffrage movement.



Rules Committee Majority Will Not Favor a Woman's Committee

[From the Tribune Bureau.]

The Democrats of the House Rules Committee, in executive session at Washington, on January 17, took adverse action on resolutions to create a new House Committee on Woman Suffrage. The plea of the Suffragists was rejected by a vote of 4 to 3, and the action of the majority checks for the present the persistent campaigns waged by the Suffragists and the Antis.



Urge End of Women's War

"For God's sake, women, quit your fighting and go back to your meetings and try to act like loving sisters," Police Judge Thomas Booher told several Woman Suffragists who were on trial before him, charged with disturbing the peace when the two factions clashed in an assembly hall and the police were called in. The women engaged in a hand-to-hand contest over the possession of the gavel. Judge Booher dismissed the cases.



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